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The Dulles way of life in Indo-China

This is the situation in Saigon, French colonial headquarters, which our Secy. of State would like to preserve, perhaps only changing the "French" to "American." We feel that most Americans would favor a redistribution of the weight among the people of Indo-China. If you agree, see p. 3 for what you can do.

Highlights In This Week's Guardian

BELFRAGE WINS THIRD ROUND IN BAIL FIGHT
Appeals Court defends Fifth Amendment.....p. 4

THE WRECKING OF CHEAP PUBLIC POWER
It will be a big issue in '54 election.....p. 6

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The New York "Sewer Series" sums up.....p. 9

PHILADELPHIA STORY: CITIZENS FIGHT BACK
Witch-hunters in the schools resisted.....p. 7

WAR & PEACE

U.S. split with allies wide open on Geneva

By Tabitha Petran

SECY. DULLES' flight to London and Paris to force "united action" in Indo-China, and Sen. Knowland's threat to end U.S. aid if they did not fall into line, cut the deepest rifts yet between Washington and its allies and between allied governments and their own peoples. "The sinew of the Western coalition itself" (**Christian Science Monitor**, 4/6) was challenged by Washington's frantic efforts to torpedo the Geneva conference following its H-bomb explosions in the Pacific. In Geneva's shadow "the mess in the West" was "such that some diplomats [seriously doubted that Washington] can hold the alliance together" (**U.S. News**, 4/16).

BOMB DILEMMA: The H-bomb being "our best bargaining weapon," Washington would not let its hands be tied "either by public opinion or any possible agreement to outlaw atomic weapons" (**Newsweek**, 4/12). Yet, as **Business Week** noted (4/10), U.S. allies would be forced in self-preservation "to press stubbornly for an ironclad agreement" for their control; and the U.S. "cannot afford much longer" to ignore the Soviet proposal to ban their use.

Since the recent tests, demands for banning the bomb have come from political parties and grassroots organizations in almost every country. This

Los Angeles Examiner
CAREFUL NOW, UNCLE!

"turmoil . . . forced the West's hand," precipitated the convocation of the UN Disarmament Commission "before the West thought the time was ripe" (**CSM**, 4/9). Washington's dilemma was compounded by presentation to the Commission of Premier Nehru's proposals: standstill agreement on tests, full publicity on power and effects, immediate

(Continued on page 3)

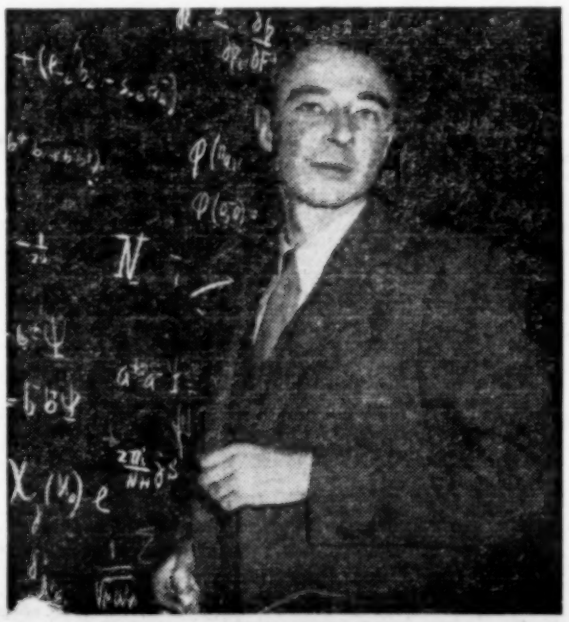
The new American morality: The insect devours its mate

AMONG CERTAIN INSECTS, it is not uncommon for one to devour the other after mating has been consummated. Now the curtain rises on a similar scene among the cold warriors in Washington: the consummation over, the politicians who now "have" the H-bomb are ready to devour their scientist mates who gave them the monster.

Most of the scientists whose talents helped produce the bomb are secretly appalled—many of them publicly so—at its total evil as a weapon not only of destruction, but of self-destruction. But now that the bomb is tucked neatly into J. F. Dulles' brief-case, to be carted about the world as proof of Washington's claim to moral leadership of "free peoples," any expression of moral repugnance to such wickedness is treason. Morality becomes immorality. Even commonsense insistence on self-preservation becomes criminally subversive.

DR. J. ROBERT OPPENHEIMER, who had more to do with creating the A- and H-bombs than any other man, is now, at President Eisenhower's direct order, being investigated behind closed doors on two sets of charges. The first set, involving youthful association with left-wingers (long since ended), can be discounted. These accusations have been reviewed and re-reviewed by every top government agency over the past 12 yars; Oppenheimer has "confessed"; he has been repeatedly "cleared."

His real crimes, as officially set forth to him



DR. J. ROBERT OPPENHEIMER

in a letter from Washington last Dec. 23, are:

"It was further reported that in the autumn of 1949, and subsequently, you strongly opposed the development of the hydrogen bomb: (1) on moral grounds, (2) by claiming that it was not feasible, (3) by claiming that there were insufficient facilities and scientific personnel to carry on the development; and (4) that it was not politically desirable."

Oppenheimer is further accused of lobbying against the bomb after President Truman ordered its construction; of successfully persuading top scientists not to work on the project; and of "definitely slowing down its development." He has entered precise denials on these points and insists that his original opposition

". . . was based on the conviction, to which technical considerations as well as others contributed, that because of our over-all situation at that time such a program might weaken rather than strengthen the position of the U.S."

His protestations of patriotism did not save him from the grilling he is now undergoing, and the first charge against him is moral opposition to the H-bomb. Presumably he can clear himself of this criminal tendency by now endorsing mass annihilation of all who resist Washington's moral crusade. If he can't clear himself, one wonders what the Washington crusaders will do to him: although Eisenhower last December erected a "blank wall" between Oppenheimer and atomic secrets, it is unanimously

(Continued on page 3)

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THE MAIL BAG

World contamination?

NEW YORK, N.Y.

It's alarming, the destructive force and power of the A & H bombs. God only knows what harm is being done right now without a war. Look at the amount of food in the sea that is being destroyed and the potential spread of radioactive substances to the eggs of fishes and plants, water, and so the entire world will become contaminated.

Let's force our government with pressure and persuasion to utilize all the research of A & H substances for utilization for energy, medicine and other good for mankind. The U.S. with its atomic demonstrations in the Pacific is emphasizing its diplomatic asininity. We must direct the political donkey and elephant leadership to safer pastures. **J. Harmon**

Chain reaction

NO. HOLLYWOOD, CALIF.

The Mass. Institute of Technology reveals that rains over Massachusetts have been radioactive for 21 days as a result of the March 1 hydrogen explosions. The L. A. Daily News reports radioactive jellyfish on California's Manhattan Beach. Geiger counters have appeared in all Japanese food stores, and at all California ports receiving fish from the vast polluted areas of the Pacific. Japanese fishermen, island peoples, and American military personnel have been burned, some perhaps fatally, by the unexpected radioactive "outfall."

Our government, announcing future explosions, reveals that one hydrogen bomb can now destroy any metropolitan area on earth. Newsweek of April 5 hints that the catastrophic possibility of a chain hydrogen reaction is again being examined. The Manchester (England) Guardian asks: "Do the scientists really know what will happen? . . . Is it really wise to proceed with these explosions?" The London Daily Herald demands:

How crazy can you get dept.

Question: I would be grateful to know on what you base your frequent statement that the Communists in this country advocate overthrow of this government by force.

Answer: Based on the interpretation which has been given to Communism, anyone who is not a Communist in the U.S. accepts the fact that the Communist Party has been officially recognized as advocating the overthrow of the government by force. If you are a Communist, therefore, you are accepting this definition.

—Eleanor Roosevelt's dept. in McCall's, April, 1954.

One-year free sub to sender of each item published under this heading. Winner: L. R. Brown, Porterville, Calif.

"Call off that bomb!"

Believing that further hydrogen explosions jeopardize not only the peace of the world but the actual existence of mankind, I most urgently ask you to join with me in writing to President Eisenhower, The White House, Washington, D.C., demanding that new hydrogen explosions be immediately cancelled.

I am sending copies of this letter to five persons whose names I have picked at random from the telephone book, asking them in turn to copy it and mail it on to five others. It is not impossible that chain letters can stop chain reactions. The life you save by writing them may be your child's. **Atlantis Marshall**

The Invaders

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

NEWS ITEM: U.S. to help French repeal aggressors in Indo-China.

Stark, grim horror grips my mind. A
Monster invades Indo-China!
Not French (from half the world
away);
Not bombs and tanks (from U.S.A.).
Of course they're native, while I
find these
Rank invaders are Indo-Chinese.
F. H. Luscomb

Unity for peace

TUCSON, ARIZ.

It is heartening to see the increasing number of organizations that are striving to ensure peace and stem the tide of fascism in our land. Yet it is disheartening to observe that all of these exist, by and large, as separate groups.

How much greater a force would be a single organization that combined the ultimate aims of all these groups now functioning separately! The same thought is applicable to the various "minor" political parties.

Is this perhaps not a time to forget minor differences and divergencies, and to combine into a single organization, whose sum total of united forces would constitute a formidable obstacle to dangerous trends in our nation?

Lawrence F. H. Lowe

One American soul

NEW YORK, N.Y.

We Pledge Peace, a Friendship Book, has the writings of a 17-year-old girl, Virginia Oprian, of San Francisco. She says:

"I live in a beautiful city. I see it spread before me from my living room window. I know that just behind that hill the Bay Bridge stands—a tribute to the creative and practical mind of man. My city has a distinct personality; its air is alive with the expectancy of growth. My city anticipates progress; it anticipates becoming more and more beautiful. The only climate in which the growth can take place is the climate of peace. I don't want my city bombed! I don't want my people demolished! This strong feeling is my own but I realize that I am not alone in my feeling. Every citizen of every city, town, village, or hamlet throughout the world must share my sentiments."

How beautiful is the soul of such an American youth that demands its natural heritage of love and peace rather than the Eisenhower-Dulles H-Bomb Hell.

We too should rise up in indignation and organize demonstrations throughout the width and breadth of our country to stop these mad dogs of war and seek impeachment of those responsible for this horror. **John R. Cormier**

Lancaster in Daily Express, London
"The lay public must be made to realize one gets no place without taking risks."

The old folks do

MIDDLETOWN, O.

I appreciate the fact that you are trying to get the truth to the people. Why don't you join the efforts of the wonderful man, Dr. Townsend, who is trying to do something for us old people? They passed a bill to get bigger pensions for the Senators. They don't need it, but the old folks do, and what a huge lot of good we could do with money. **Jennie Stiver**

Welcome visitor

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I was up in the GUARDIAN office and I learned how badly they are in need of funds to carry on the good work. I left a contribution of $10 in the name of the Progressive Party of L.A. and urge all Progressive Party clubs to support the GUARDIAN. **Joseph Gutmer**

California campaign

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

The depression, already here in its initial stages, demands from the candidates for governor of California clear commitments on the following proposals:

(1) The revitalization—enormous expansion—of the activities of the state's two publicly owned "free trade" harbors, Los Angeles and San Francisco. Each of these quarter-of-a-billion investments should be put to work at once to win full employment for our people. The Chinese People's Republic, now transforming the life of 500 million people from a feudal to a free-enterprise and socialist economy, is eager for our automobiles and trucks, our machines for shop and factory, our gadgets for the home, electrical and otherwise, our cement, our engineering and other technical services. If the next governor of California would take the lead, the ports of San Francisco and Los Angeles could boom and the entire Southwest be caught in the upward sweep.

(2) The state's half billion dollar Central Valley Project must be kept in the hands of a friendly Dept. of the Interior and immediately developed to its fullest—power first for public bodies and water only for the owners and operators of family-size farms. This means that Bureau of Reclamation plans—drawn some years ago at the direction of Congress, and calling for an additional one and a half billion dollar investment in water-conservation and power-generation works in the foothills of the Sierra Nevada and Coast Ranges—must be put into execution and construction started on 25 dams and reservoirs and the attendant power houses, transmission lines, canals, and distribution systems in the Central Valley. The harvest: one million additional acres under cultivation (12,500 family-size farms) and one million kilowatts added to CPV's power potential.

(3) The restoration of citizenship—no more loyalty oaths, no more inquisitions, no more enforced conformity of opinion. The revival of American dissent in every field.

What a good campaigner could do with these issues!

Reuben W. Borough

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"Man is here for the sake of other men—above all, for those upon whose smile and well-being our own happiness depends, and also for the countless unknown souls with whose fate we are connected by a bond of sympathy."

—ALBERT EINSTEIN.

REPORT TO READERS

How does YOUR Guardian grow?

OUR GUARDIAN ANGELS are flying high! In the month of March, they recruited 1,112 new readers. In addition we received 1,832 renewals—a total of 2,944 new and renewed subscribers for the month. Through the April 10-11 week-end, the pace was stepping up—567 new subs, 687 renewals thus far in April.

How is this happening? Why? Some answers lie in the reports we get from people in action all over the country.

Back in December, our San Antonio (Tex.) readers group asked for an exchange of ideas with other such groups. Bridgeport, Conn., answered:

"Since last spring, we have tripled our circulation. Attendance at the monthly meetings is steadily growing, as is the enthusiasm. At our February meeting, the showing of the Quaker film **Time for Greatness** sparked a lively discussion. In March we had Thelma Dale, Organizing Secy. of the PP, who discussed the PP's role in the 1954 elections. In April we'll have Irving Dichter, Intl. Rep. of the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers' Union, on the local unemployment situation and what we can do about it. We recently elected new officers and now have three functioning committees—Press, Program and Subscription."

FRANK LEFFERTS hails from Boston. He's 79 and says he's a "dilapidated, broken-down old cull about ready for the boneyard and only living to save funeral expenses." But he says:

"When I think of our fine young men, with arms and legs like braided rawhide, going to war to be wounded and killing the young men in the opposing armies it makes me feel so mad and sad that I must do all in my power to prevent a war. . . . I bought a Hamilton springless postal scale for $3.95 and I send out packages of peace material [8 oz. for 3c postage, anywhere in U.S.]. I do not drink, I am a light eater. I can spare $10 a month to pay for mailing 100 packs of literature each month.

"It is understood and agreed among the workers for peace that the GUARDIAN is the best paper for that purpose. . . ."

CALIFORNIA's BAY AREA is gearing up for a GUARDIAN drive. Ditto Cincinnati, Milwaukee, Minneapolis-St. Paul, San Diego and Long Beach (Calif.) are both making good use of the GUARDIAN's Fifth Amendment record (see page 6) to inform the public and win new readers. Local unions are beginning to ask for bundle orders ($1 for 25). A farm friend introduced us to 2,000 farmers all over the country with our coverage of the Natl. Farmers Union convention, asking them to try us for six months for $1. Our new $1 Introductory Sub blanks are ready in bulk. Got any ideas how you can use a handful, to help expand the family?

We hope you'll answer with an April shower of big ideas to make our GUARDIAN grow. **—THE EDITORS**

The insect devours its mate

(Continued from page 1)

conceded that he carries all the secrets in his head. And what will happen to all the other scientists (and plain citizens) morally opposed to turning human beings into radioactive gas?

THERE IS ANOTHER CONSEQUENCE of the Eisenhower decision to investigate Oppenheimer. It has put a sturdy prop under Sen. Joe McCarthy's sagging prestige. On April 6 McCarthy, on a TV program, asked:

"If there were no Communists in our government, why did we delay for 18 months—delay our research on the hydrogen bomb . . . ?"

Few paid much mind to the query; the President himself denied any knowledge of a delay. But even as he made the denial, he knew that one of the charges made against Oppenheimer last December was that he had "definitely slowed down its [the H-bomb's] development." When Oppenheimer himself made public the charges on April 12, the effect was a Presidential reprieve for the discredited Senator on the eve of the long-delayed showdown between himself and the Army.

But McCarthy has been in the Dr. Oppenheimer act since last spring, when his committee considered a full-scale probe of the case. McCarthy now reveals that he decided to hold off because "we also received assurances—and I think this is one that influenced our decision—from top Administration officials that this matter would be gone into in detail." But it might be dangerous to adopt a moral attitude toward this obvious collusion between McCarthy and the Administration, which is supposed to be morally opposed to the Senator's methods. The McCarthy-Administration differences are now reduced to this: if there are any witches to be burned, the Administration itself insists on applying the torch.

WITH McCARTHY RESTORED to a semblance of stature, with Dulles rattling the H-bomb in Europe, and with the H-bomb's creator contemplating the stake and fagots in Washington, it seemed a reasonable time for the President to take off with his niblick and putter. On April 13 he landed on an airfield in Georgia, was driven immediately to the Augusta National Golf Club.

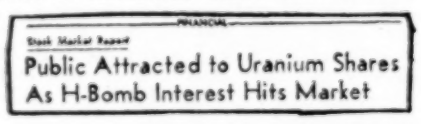
Morality, anybody? —THE EDITORS

War & Peace

(Continued from page 1)

and continuing private meetings of the atomic subcommission, actions by peoples and states.

REACTION NEGATIVE: The "united action" proposal won full support only from Thailand. Philippines President Magsaysay backed it but denied he would send troops; he faced strong opposition from Sen. Carlo Recto, a government foreign-policy spokesman, who said "it is none of the Philippines' business" if Indo-China goes Communist. In Australia, where dockworkers



Journal of Commerce, 4/8/54

refused to load munitions for the war, the government was "cautious" (**NYT**, 4/8); Labour Party leader Evatt, who hopes to become Prime Minister next month, voiced "what is unquestionably a general Australian reaction . . . a negative reaction" (**CSM**, 4/8). In Southeast Asia the proposal was greeted (**CSM**, 4/9)

". . . with alarm . . . [seen as] a dangerous attempt at power politics . . . [An] increasing number of non-Communist Asians feel Americans . . . are opposed to settlement by negotiation since this would mean concessions and compromises. The only alternatives to those are seen to be World War III or frightening the Communists into acceptance of terms dictated by the threat of the hydrogen bomb. Any anticipation of the latter development is regarded here as a dangerous calculation. . . ."

PEOPLE IN THE WAY: Britain and France were increasingly squeezed between Dulles' pressure from above and popular pressure from below. Warning that British acquiescence in "united action" would mean "the third and this time the last world war will be upon us," Britain's Aneurin Bevan expressed a growing demand that U.S. forces get out of Britain "if our policies no longer march together." Former War Minister Strachey, spokesman for Labour's "moderate" wing, answered Knowland: "Britain is not for sale." In France it was acknowledged that any government trying to continue the war beyond Geneva would fall.

London and Paris dispatches emphasized government agreement with U.S. objectives, but irritation at Washington's failure to understand that while the governments "might like to go along with Mr. Dulles, they can't carry public opinion with them without much more careful preparation" (**CBS**'s Howard K. Smith, 4/11).

The Churchill government, said London's **New Statesman** (4/10), was conniving with

". . . the diplomacy of threats with which the American Administration has decided to bring matters to a head. The Russians and the Chinese are to be softened up by the spectacle of what 'mobile massive retaliation' could mean, as a preliminary to telling them at Geneva that there are to be no negotiations on Indo-China: either they . . . permit the French to reconquer the country with the help of the U.S. . . . or . . . face the prospect of retaliation outside of Indo-China."

The connivance was plain in the Eden-Churchill agreement to participate in a ten-nation Pacific Pact, a step toward "united action." The French Cabinet, too, seemed likely to go along, but popular opposition in both countries steadily grew.

MOSCOW WANTS PEACE: According to **Newsweek** (4/12), "a committee of top British planners has come to the unanimous conclusion that the Soviets are determined to avoid war at practically any cost." Joseph C. Harsch (**CSM**, 4/3) said Harrison Salisbury's recent **NYT** dispatch, quoting top Western analysts in Moscow as convinced the U.S.S.R. wants the cold war ended, was not in conflict "with the considered views of the U.S. Embassy there."

The British press (**Times**, **Observer**, **Manchester Guardian**) urged serious consideration of Moscow's All-European Security Treaty plan. Its plan for a Far East Security Pact, based on "normalization of relations among all the countries of Asia," could expect strong support in Asia and Europe.

EUROPE IS REAPPRAISING BOTH U.S. AND RUSSIA, **NYT** (4/11) headlined a Paris report by C. L. Sulzberger. Resentment against U.S. policy, he wrote, is rising while Soviet policy has

". . . an effect upon European opinion transcending traditionally pro-Communist or anti-American circles—an impact generally favorable to Moscow and therefore commensurately damaging to the position of Washington."

Noting Washington's dilemma in face of this trend, **BW** (4/10) said:

". . . If our H-bomb power has been neutralized . . . then our leadership in the world will no longer be based so completely on military strength. . . . International leadership then might well go to the nation that offered the world the most along these lines [atomic industrial revolution] and seemed most willing to develop close economic and cultural relations with the rest of the world."

While Eisenhower sees no peacetime potentialities for hydrogen power, Soviet scientists see them as tremendous. Marshall Voroshilov said (4/10) that atomic energy had already been placed "at the service of the socialist economy."

Washington's "disloyalty" charges against its top atom scientist J. Robert Oppenheimer indicated how it would try to extricate itself from its dilemma: any who opposed use of the H-bomb would be branded as traitors.

WASHINGTON'S GOAL: Charges made in Britain that the U.S. aim is war against—and extermination of—the Chinese People's Republic hardly seemed exaggerated. Dulles and Joint Chiefs chairman Radford, co-authors of "united action," have publicly identified China as their intended victim. Accompanying Dulles to Europe was Under-Secy. Robertson who told Congress last January the U.S. aim was overthrow of China's regime. **CSM** (4/5) referred to the "fundamental **delenda est Carthago** objective, the [goal of] eventual destruction of the government of China" held by "strong elements within the Pentagon and State Dept." Recent developments show these elements now directing U.S. policy.

Los Angeles Mirror, 4/2/54

Why the cold war is a failure

War, Britain's Lord Salisbury told Parliament recently, "represents the failure of a policy." The reversal—initiated by the Truman administration—of Roosevelt's coalition peace policy is now failing spectacularly. The pressure for hot war in an effort to retrieve this failure arises from these factors:

● **Crisis of imperialism.** The "loss" of China and Indo-China to their own peoples represents a real threat—a "falling domino" threat, as the President stated—to imperialism. Britain and France are trying in Asia to salvage what they can of their empires; forced by trade needs, they are adjusting, however reluctantly, to the new reality—China. Pressure for normal relations with China is mounting as it did early in 1950. Washington's answer then was the Korean War. It is now trying to repeat in a last-ditch effort to halt the tides of history.

● **Conflicts among capitalist powers** have blocked Washington's plan for a Europe united under U.S.-German domination. Gen. de Gaulle expressed them sharply when he said (4/7) that passage of EDC would bring "a state of permanent revolt" in France, and proposed that France develop its own nuclear weapons, mediate the cold war and keep the U.S. out of Indo-China. They have, writes Frank Gorell (**New Republic**, 4/12), already created "a new European geopolitics . . . despite, without and perhaps even against the French." The "new EDC"—based on the Radford line across North Africa and the Mediterranean, with radial lines up Spain, Italy and the Balkans to the "German heartland"—is designed to counter any Franco-Soviet alliance while Washington questions "France's future as a world power" (**NYHT**, 4/11). Dulles' Indo-China policy is as much directed against France's independence as against Indo-China's.

● **Economic crisis.** March economic indicators, said the **Journal of Commerce** (4/5), could be edited to spell anything forecasters wanted; but in the long-term view they could only mean the ripening of the capitalist world's economic crisis. The single fact that steel is in overproduction in most capitalist countries (in the U.S., operating at only 69% of capacity)—at a time when armaments are the chief prop of their economies—shows the sickness of the system. The Korean War was Washington's answer to crisis signals in 1949; it is looking for a similar answer today.

Peace marches on

Reports of local actions for peace in the great H-bomb-Indo-China crisis began to flow in last week. In Bridgeport, Conn., a rumpus rating columns of newspaper space had been raised by the action of the Connecticut Peace Council (PO Box 145, Bridgeport) in renting a YMCA hall for a forum on Indo-China and the Geneva conference April 25. When the YMCA canceled the reservation, the Bridgeport **Post** ran witch-hunt-committee scuttlebutt on everyone remotely connected with the meeting: of GUARDIAN associate editor Kumar Goshal, a scheduled speaker, it was recalled that one reviewer of his book **The People of India** suggested he was really Jawaharlal Nehru in disguise. A CPC leader wrote the GUARDIAN: "A real fight is shaping up. We'll have the meeting, and if we're thrown out of every hall in town, we'll bounce."

● In a letter to the Administration, Congress and citizens, the Public Affairs Forum of Utah County (Provo, Utah) set forth a sober 7-point alternative policy for the U.S. on Indo-China.

● Anna Louise Strong (Box 161, Montrose, Calif.) issued an outstanding appeal to reason and fact-sheet on Indo-China in an "Open Letter to Secy. Dulles."

● The American Peace Crusade (35 W. 26th St., N.Y.C. 10) issued for distribution useful leaflets and postcards on Indo-China and the H-bomb.

Hydrogen Bomb News
. . . has caused me to realize how short life is — whether through natural or man-made causes! SO WHAT?
So I'm going to enjoy life now. I'm fixing up with Sam Klein Carpet Broadloom. It makes me so proud and happy to have friends and relatives admire my beautiful floors!!

New York Post, 4/8/54

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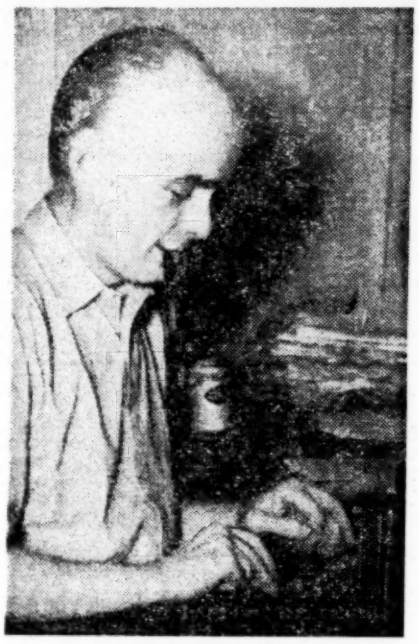
A RINGING DEFENSE OF THE FIFTH AMENDMENT

Belfrage wins 3d court test on bail

THE U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals on Apr. 9 took issue with Atty. Gen. Brownell and affirmed the right of GUARDIAN editor Cedric Belfrage to remain at liberty on bail pending deportation proceedings against him. It was the third judicial victory in 11 months against the government's attempt to put him back on Ellis Island. The opinion, written by Judge Carroll C. Hincks, was a resounding affirmation of the right to assert the privilege of the Fifth Amendment to protect innocence as well as guilt.

Belfrage was arrested at the GUARDIAN office on May 15, 1953, the day after he had appeared before the McCarthy Investigations subcommittee in Washington with exec. editor James Aronson, and taken to Ellis Island. On June 10, U. S. Circuit Court Judge Edward Weinfeld ordered his release in $5,000 bail on a writ of habeas corpus. His decision questioned the government's action in arresting Belfrage as a "menace to the nation's safety" immediately following his appearance before McCarthy—in view of the fact that Belfrage had testified freely at FBI and Grand Jury inquiries seven years earlier.

HEART OF THE MATTER: Five days later the government asked U. S. Appeals Judge Charles E. Clark to upset Weinfeld's order; he refused. The government appealed to the full Appeals Court and a hearing was held in New York Dec. 14, 1953. The government argued that under Sec. 242(a) of the Walter-McCarran Act the courts had no power to review the Atty. General's denial of bail except where there was a question of "reasonable dispatch." It also asserted that Belfrage, by invoking the Fifth Amendment before the House Un-American Activities Committee (May 5, 1953) and before McCarthy, had "emerged as a self-confessed betrayer of the country of his adoption." This produced exclamations of astonishment from Judges Clark and Jerome N. Frank. A little shaken, the government attorney nevertheless contended that a jury might draw inferences from a witness' taking the Fifth Amendment. Judge Hincks' opinion, concurred in by his associates, rejected the Dec. 14 appeal. It said in part:



CEDRIC BELFRAGE

The GUARDIAN's editor will speak at a dinner in honor of the 50th birthday of John Abt, Progressive Party general counsel, Wed. eve., April 28, at New York's Hotel Commodore.

"Contrary to the contentions made in behalf of the [government] we adhere to the views which we previously expressed . . . and hold that Sec. 242(a) of the Immigration and Nationality [Walter-McCarran] Act of 1952 was not intended to restrict the power of judicial review theretofore existing. It follows that [Judge Weinfeld] had power to admit [Belfrage] to bail pending the determination of the deportation proceedings on 'a clear and convincing showing that the decision against him was with reasonable foundation.'

"Here the order sustaining the writ [of habeas corpus] was required because the [government's] return showed on its face that the administrative decision denying bail had been based in part—an inextricable part—on an invalid assumption.

"From [Belfrage's invoking his constitutional privilege to refuse to answer questions] we find no rational basis for an inference that if admitted to bail pending the outcome of the deportation proceedings there was substantial danger that he would abscond or engage in the interim in activities inimical to the public welfare. His mere refusal to answer might perhaps have been motivated by a dislike of the resulting publicity or fear that his answers, by misconstruction or otherwise, might result in an unfounded prosecution against him on some criminal charge, as for instance a prosecution under the Smith Act. Perhaps it may have stemmed from reluctance to implicate, or disturb, the privacy of others.

"But whatever the underlying motivation, an invocation of the Fifth Amendment is no ground at all for an inference of guilt or of criminal proclivities. The privilege created by the Amendment 'is for the innocent as well as the guilty and no inference can be drawn against the person claiming it that he fears that he is "engaged in doing something that is forbidden by federal law."'"

"And since an invocation of the Amendment made on legally sufficient grounds does not give rise to an inference of substantive criminality, of course an invocation made on insufficient grounds may not serve as a basis for such inference. At most, an improper refusal to testify, if persisted in—as seems not to have been the case here—might constitute ground for conviction of criminal contempt. Here, there was no such conviction. And a conviction for contempt, even if it had occurred, would have had no rational tendency to demonstrate that [Belfrage], if enlarged pending deportation proceedings, would abscond or constitute a security risk.

"It thus appears that the [government's decision to refuse bail] was based at least in part on an untenable ground. And there is nothing in the record that enables us to say that with that ground eliminated . . . the decision would have been the same."

THE SIGNIFICANCE: The opinion made it clear that the government's refusal to grant bail flowed entirely from a wrong interpretation of the Fifth Amendment. The court's reasoning was that, after dismissing the Fifth Amendment argument, there was nothing else in the government's presentation to substantiate its claim that Belfrage was a "menace" to the nation's security.

The court action has no bearing on the deportation proceedings. The Immigration Dept. may call a hearing at any time, although it indicated last December that it wanted the bail question cleared first, and was prepared to go to the Supreme Court. Blanch Freedman, Belfrage's attorney, said that she was prepared to meet any test in the nation's highest tribunal.

Let Congress know: We don't want our boys in Indo-China!

By Kumar Goshal

WITH the Geneva Conference a week away, the U. S. press reflected Americans' concern over direct participation in the Indo-China war but offered little clarity about the situation.

The Alsops (4/9) found that few realized "the [serious] risks which Dulles, with Eisenhower's consent, is now prepared to take," the most serious being "the risk of general war." But the N. Y. **World-Telegram** (4/10) found Americans strongly opposed to Dulles' policy.

Letters to N. Y. papers (which support varying degrees of Indo-China intervention) almost unanimously opposed "another Korea," criticized "massive retaliation" and H-bomb tests. Myron A. Ellis (N. Y. **Times**, 4/10) criticized Dulles for belittling "in advance any possible accomplishments of [the Geneva] conference" and threatening "a possible invasion of the Chinese mainland," hoped Americans would "speak out against such a catastrophic policy." R. A. Darling (N. Y. **Post**, 4/11) prayed the Senate would realize a U. S. alliance "with colonialism can only end in disaster." E. S. Buckley (N. Y. **Herald Tribune**, 4/10) wrote:

"If Mr. Dulles means the same kind of united action in Indo-China that we had in Korea he has reckoned without the American people."

ALARMED SOLONS: Robert S. Allen (4/8) reported that at a briefing of Congressional leaders Dulles and Joint Chiefs chairman Radford "propounded specific proposals for armed intervention," including Congressional authorization to the President to take "all steps necessary" to hold Indo-China, and commitment of naval and air forces by the U.S., Britain, Australia, New Zealand. The lawmakers showed "astonishment and alarm"; comments, especially by Republicans, were "distinctly critical."

Senate debate April 5-6 reflected this alarm, but no one in Congress openly opposed U. S. intervention in a war which—its own members admitted—is a colonial war, a civil war with the great majority of the native population as "the enemy." They indicated they would go along with Dulles, but some truths were spoken; Sen. Kennedy (D-Mass.) said "any action taken by us under present conditions would be doomed to failure."

Sen. Gillette (D-Ia.), admitting the issue in Indo-China "is nationalism—the demand of the people for freedom and independence," said the U. S. could not win unless it guaranteed freedom and acted under UN moral authority. Sen. Stennis (D-Miss.) saw U. S. intervention as a "lost cause" unless Asians supported it. Sen. Jackson (D-Wash.) urged:

"We should not reach a point from which we cannot withdraw, the only alternative being . . . all-out war. . . . We ought to know what is our program and policy . . . [then] get behind that policy."

HIDDEN FACTS: Such facts as these continued to be hidden or distorted:

• Popular support for the Viet Minh would be unchanged even if "independence" were granted the Bao Dai regime, whose following all France as well as Indo-China knows to be zero. (This was admitted even by the Congressional study group that recently visited Indo-China led by Chiang Kai-shek's friend Cong. Judd.) Already in 1946—when it won 82% of votes in an election held amid bitter fighting—**NYT**'s Foster Hailey (**Half of One World**) testified the Viet Minh government had eliminated hunger from Tonkin and Annam, taught two million citizens to read and write. Its continued reform program has made its hold on the people unshakable.

HOW THE VIET-MINH GET THE NEWS TO THE PEOPLE

The editorial office of Cuu Quoc, *printed behind the lines in territory held by Viet-Minh liberation army*

• Negotiations for peace must be conducted with the Viet Minh for another reason: as India's Nehru has pointed out, China is "interested in not having hostile neighbors on its borders" (London **Observer**, 3/21).

• Washington admits that what it mainly wants to "save from communism" are S.-E. Asia's rich mineral resources—for U. S. Big Business, which has "taken over 72% of Indo-China's non-ferrous metals exports and 20% of its natural rubber exports" (Paris **Tribune des Nations**, 9/11/53).

• Only Walter Millis (**NYHT**, 4/11) has cautiously pointed out that accepting "defeat" in Indo-China—even though leading members of the Viet Minh coalition are Communists—would not necessarily be fatal:

"In Indo-China we are probably very close to [the limits of military action]. . . . We ought not to imprison ourselves in the idea that the world will be lost unless we can pull out of some hat magic solutions which are not there."

EASTER PARADE: Unlike the Korean war, the Dulles plan for Indo-China war has been forced into the open. The anxiety revealed by Senators indicates the people can stiffen their lawmakers' backbones and force them to oppose the war.

While Congressmen are home for the Easter holidays (April 15-25), Americans, even in twos and threes, can visit them and urge them to go on record for immediate talks on controlling and outlawing A- and H-bombs; against U. S. participation in the Indo-China war; for a ceasefire in Indo-China and honest negotiations in Geneva for peace in S.-E. Asia.

DON'T MISS THE GUARDIAN's FORUM on "China and Indo-China—Peace or War?" April 23, at Adelphi Hall (Room 9B), 74 Fifth Av, 8:30 p.m.

CALENDAR

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IT MAY BE THE BIG ISSUE IN THE CONGRESS ELECTIONS

The wrecking of cheap public power

By Lawrence Emery

IN the depression years of the early '30's the Roosevelt New Deal began its vast federal development of cheap public power and helped rural co-operatives deliver low-cost electricity to nearly all U. S. farms. Ever since, the nation's private power interests have spent up to $20,000,000 a year lobbying for a reversal of those policies.

In Eisenhower's first 15 months in office they have just about succeeded. What they call "creeping socialism" has become the galloping grab. On April 11, 1953, Herbert Hoover, adviser to the Administration, announced a blueprint for getting the federal government "out of the business of generating and distributing power as soon as possible."

THE WRECKERS: The blueprint has been carefully followed since. These are some of the results to date:

- TVA is being crippled, its doors opened to private exploitation.
- Publicly-owned hydro-electric dam sites are being handed over to commercial companies.
- Federally-built projects in the vast Central Valley development in California are up for "sale" to the State.
- The Rural Electrification Administration is being wrecked.
- Federal development of the Columbia River Basin is being slowed down or stopped.
- Publicly-generated power is to be sold to private companies at the point of origin, ending traditional preference rights held by REA co-ops and municipally-owned electric systems.
- Contracts of the Southwestern Power Administration with public consumers have been abrogated and the Administration itself all but dismantled.
- Private companies have been given a $3 billion gift through rapid amortization and other tax benefits.
- Government regulatory bodies and commissions have been packed with enemies of public power.

THE NATION'S PRIDE: The TVA is not only one of the world's great engineering feats but has been an economic boon to a region covering seven states, and to the nation as a whole. In 1933 there were 275,000 electric consumers in the area; they paid 5.7c per kilowatt-hour. Today 148 municipal and co-operative distributors serve 1,300,000 customers at a rate of 1.3c per kwh, which is about half the average rate charged by the nation's private utilities.

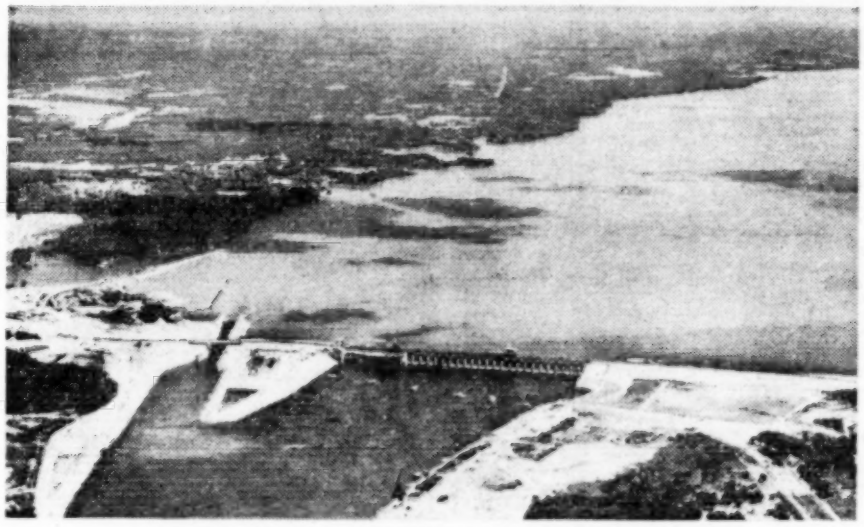
Average use per customer has risen from 600 to 4,292 kwh; rural electric lines have increased from 1,000 miles in 1933 to 100,000 miles in 1953; electrified farms have gone up from 15,000 to 423,000. TVA chairman Gordon R. Clapp, reporting the constant economic expansion of the region, has predicted a power shortage by 1957 and a crippling of the area's development of natural resources without additional electric generating capacity.

"CHOKE & THROTTLE": But the Eisenhower budget for 1955 cuts TVA appropriations generally, vetoes a new steam plant near Memphis, and provides for new power needs to be met by commercial companies. The region is fighting back. Mayor George R. Dempster of Knoxville, Tenn., warns:

> "If they knock down the TVA yardstick, it will be the end of public power all over the U. S."

Former Tennessee governor Gordon Browning said:

> "It is perfectly obvious the President has allowed himself to be used as an instrument to curb if not destroy TVA."



THIS IS TVA'S KENTUCKY DAM NEAR PADUCAH
It cuts the crests of the flood waters from the Mississippi, creates a navigation channel 184 miles long, generates vast power.

The Nashville **Tennesseean** editorialized:

> "The Tennessee Valley has again been betrayed by an administration taking its signals from the private power industry that is determined to destroy TVA. As a result, the Valley can look forward—if the President's proposals become reality—only to higher power rates and to a further tightening of the economic lid already being pressed down upon it."

Said Sen. Albert Gore (D-Tenn.):

> "It is now plain that the power policy of the present Administration follows the philosophy of the private power trust. . . . Whether consciously or unconsciously, the President has yielded to the conspiracy to choke and throttle the development of TVA. We have no choice but to fight with everything we have. . . ."

THE BRASS: Gordon Clapp, who has been TVA chairman since 1946, is totally dedicated to the original concept of TVA. He has had 21 years' experience, has risen to his present post through the ranks. On March 16 Eisenhower was presented with petitions signed by 60,000 persons urging retention of Clapp, whose term expires next month. But reports persist that Eisenhower will appoint retired Brig. Gen. Robert R. Neyland Jr., who is now on leave from his present job as athletic director of the University of Tennessee.

The TVA fight is being duplicated all over the U. S. As Sen. Wayne Morse (Ind.-Ore.) said on the Senate floor last January:

> "The Administration and utility attack upon orderly and progressive resource development is being made in every part of the country—Niagara, the St. Lawrence, Georgia, the Southwest . . . the Missouri Basin, California, and the Pacific Northwest."

BROKEN FAITH: The Southwest Power Administration, serving areas in Arkansas, Louisiana, Kansas, Missouri, Texas and Oklahoma, has had its contracts with preference consumers abrogated by the Eisenhower Administration; it is under orders to reduce its personnel from an authorized 256 to 180 by May 1, and a survey group has recommended a further cut to 86. Said U. J. Gajan, chairman of an SPA voluntary advisory committee:

> "[The Dept. of] Interior must now realize that they have broken faith with the millions of American farm people and the millions of other Americans [in the Southwest area]. We now find ourselves in a desperate and helpless position. The ultimate beneficiaries are the commercial utility companies."

Even more disastrous is an Eisenhower proposal to let the private Georgia Power Co. handle all distribution of power from the government-built, government-owned Clark Hill Dam on the Savannah River—contrary to preference rights embedded in federal law since 1906. The Georgia ruling, if it prevails, will set a precedent for every part of the country. Former Georgia governor Ellis Arnall, representing an association of rural co-operatives, said:

> "This is an unholy situation that needs to be aired before all the people, and if we can't settle it any other way, we will take it before the Supreme Court."

FARMER SQUEEZE: The attack on rural electric co-ops is general. Eisenhower's Congress cut the REA loan program from $164,000,000 in 1953 to $135,000,000 in 1954; Eisenhower's 1955 budget will cut it further to $100,000,000. But there is a backlog of $200,000,000 in loan applications, and more will be made during this year.

REA administrative funds are also being cut, wholesale power costs from generators to co-ops boosted. Considering that electric co-ops now buy more than 14 billion kw a month at a cost of more than $9,000,000, a rate increase of ½ of a cent per kwh would boost the farmer's electric bill by $40,000,000 a year. Added to the present squeeze in which the farmer is caught, this could intensify the farm depression to catastrophic proportions.

"THE MAN RESPONSIBLE": The Eisenhower power program was summed up by Sen. Estes Kefauver (D-Tenn.) last November:

> "There is a campaign of attrition to stop construction of dams, to stop vital services to rural electric co-ops, to boost interest rates, to eliminate the preference clauses in the distribution of public power, to take over the best power sites, and to do anything that will destroy Federal power."

Many public power advocates have blamed Interior Secy. Douglas McKay and his assistant, Fred G. Aandahl, for what is going on. Sen. William Langer, (R-N. D.), set these critics straight during Senate hearings last month:

> "Why attack Aandahl? Why not direct attacks at President Eisenhower? Why attack the hired man when it was Eisenhower who made the promises to the people? The promises were not made by Aandahl or McKay. The man responsible is the President himself. He could correct the situation tomorrow himself."

MOSCOW! Newest grab of public resources by private interests is taking place in New York State with Gov. Dewey's blessings. The State Power Authority, which he controls and which is headed by his appointee Robert Moses, is pressing for the right to develop a hydro-electric project at Niagara Falls, the power to be distributed by private companies with no recognition of the preference rights of rural co-ops and municipal systems. Dewey has attacked the federal preference clause as

> ". . . a provision which says that if the State of New York is allowed to develop the water power which belongs to the people, it is obligated by law to offer that power first to those communities which bend the knee to the Moscow concept, abandon private operation of their public utilities, and socialize them."

NOVEMBER'S COMING: While throttling all the public power projects built and planned in the last 20 years, the Eisenhower Administration has come up with one of its own: it has recommended a $1,134,643,000 Upper Colorado River storage project. Its only faults are these: it would flood one of the nation's prized national parks; it was denounced in 1951 by the Army Engineers Corps as "unrealistic" and without immediate economic justification; there are other better, cheaper, more efficient dam sites than the one chosen. Opponents, who include most of the West's public power proponents, have charged that this Eisenhower-McKay project is "political, looking toward this year's elections and appeasement of political forces in Utah and Colorado."

But if the Eisenhower crusaders are ready to play politics with public resources, they seem quite shortsighted about it. Their public power give-aways have aroused citizens from coast to coast and from border to border. As columnist Marquis Childs has pointed out:

> "The power issue alone could determine the control of Congress next November."

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AN EXAMPLE FOR THE NATION

Philadelphia fights back against witch-hunters in its schools

DURING the past few months Philadelphia has distinguished itself with one of the broadest fightbacks by any community against a witch-hunt. The issue: dismissals of six, suspensions of 19 public-school teachers in the wake of Velde Committee hearings there last November.

When Pennsylvania's "loyalty" bill for state employes was introduced in the 1951 Legislature by Sen. Albert Pechan, its author and chief pusher was Robert Kunzig, "a tall stoutish young man with the manner of a Restoration dandy" (I. F. Stone) who was then Deputy State Atty. General. Philadelphia's two daily papers, and Pennsylvanians of every political camp, aroused such protest with telegrams, letters and lobbies that when it was finally passed in Dec., 1952 (1,000 persons stormed Harrisburg on the last day), it was considerably cleaned up. It provided an oath that state employes did "not now advocate" or belong to groups advocating "overthrow of the government," but it deprived Kunzig of the unlimited power to compel answers to any and all questions. It guaranteed that an accused "subversive" must be faced with his accuser and tried by "due process."

ROBERT MARCHES HOME: In 1953, Kunzig tried a second Pechan bill aimed to deprive witnesses of 5th Amendment privileges. Pennsylvanians gave it the Bronx cheer; it never got out of committee.

Last November, Kunzig, who had become counsel for the House Un-American Activities Committee, "came home" armed with that committee's power. A sacrificial victim, Mrs. William Lowenfels, wife of poet Walter Lowenfels (whose trial under the Smith Act began last week), was fired from her job as a French teacher. Scare headlines announced "20 or 30 subversives" among Philadelphia's 7,000 teachers; but when Earl Fuoss, an FBI "ex," arrived in town to drum up "informers," he did no business—nor has anyone dug up any local "name-namers" to date. The committee brought its own "friendly witnesses" from New York: veterans Bella Dodd and Dorothy Funn, neither

Philadelphia Bulletin

"Think as you please, students . . ."

of whom had ever been in the Philadelphia Teachers Union.

BOARD PRES. DISSENTS: Out of 40 teachers subpenaed, 18 were questioned—all Jewish except two. None "cooperated"; many used the 5th Amendment. Hearings were televised, despite objections by witnesses and the Phila. Bar Assn. A committee system of "veterans' passes" packed the hearing room with large muscular men. As soon as they left the stand, the teachers—whom Kunzig had likened to "dope peddlers"—began receiving a barrage of anti-Semitic phone calls.

Two days later, without notice, came the six dismissals and 19 suspensions. The teachers were not charged under the Pechan Act, which necessitates evidence, but under a strained interpretation of the Teacher Tenure Act—which the TU charged the Board had made into "a weapon against the teachers instead of a protection." Since 1937 the Act, one of the best in any state, has provided only specific reasons for which teachers may be fired, none of which was an Un-AAC subpena. Consistently voting against the dismissals has been Board of Education pres. Walter Biddle Saul, who said "neither the evidence nor the testimony supports the charges." Befort the Un-AAC came to town, he said: "As far as I know there has never been any subversive teaching in any public school in the city."

3 "CONTEMPT" RAPS: Hearings were resumed before a two-man Un-AAC subcommittee in Washington Feb. 16-17. The atmosphere was quiet, almost routine, as though the purpose had already been accomplished. Of 37 witnesses called, most used the 5th Amendment. Mrs. Goldie Watson, a highly respected and active Negro leader, used the First to reject all questions. Mr. and Mrs. Wilbur L. Maheney said they had been Communists but refused to supply names.

On March 3, Maheney and Mrs. Watson were cited for contempt, along with former Temple Univ. prof. Barrows Dunham, who at a 1953 hearing had refused to answer any questions at all.

SCHOOL CRISIS: Not entirely lost in the fracas was the serious plight of the city's schools. The Evening **Bulletin** (12/4) pointed out that Philadelphia's $1.41 a day spent per pupil compared with a $1.53 average in the other 74 largest cities; its $163.63 per pupil spent for teachers' salaries, with $174.45 in the other 74 (N. Y. C., $227.17; Chicago, $185.08).

This year 6,000 students—50% more than last year—attended 190 part-time classes. Half of the elementary school classes have more than 36 kids. An estimated 512 new classrooms or 19 schools are needed now. At budget hearings the day after the Velde hearings, the Board of Education presented plans for three new high schools, but ignored recommendations of one of its committees and pleas of the NAACP for a new building for Franklin High, in a Negro neighborhood. Teachers asked for a $600 raise to offset a 13% cut in purchasing-power since 1939; they got $100. TU pres. Francis Jennings told the Board of Education:

> "We are now at a point where the prospective teacher must resolve to sacrifice his constitutional rights and accept the status of a second-class citizen in order to qualify for an overworked, underpaid profession."

POOR SHOW FOR GOP: The hearings and firings unleashed a storm of protest from Left to Right, were blasted from the platforms of meetings sponsored by the Amer. Civil Liberties Union, Women's Intl. League for Peace & Freedom, Phila. Society of Friends, Progressive Party, among others. Prominent defenders include respected conservative lawyer Wm. Allen Rahill, who has upheld the teachers' use of the 5th Amendment on TV and on many platforms; Henry W. Sawyer III, Phila. attorney and recently Asst. General Counsel to NATO, and Wilfred R. Lorry, both of whom served as counsel to subpenaed teachers. Lorry, who spent 10 years with the FBI, told a jammed Friends' meeting about informers:

> "They will tell you anything you want them to . . . teachers [who] used the 5th Amendment . . . would have been crazy to do otherwise."

Viewed by some as a testing-ground for GOP vote-catching, the witch-hunt did not take well. No group of importance has approved. Two private schools, not subject to the city Board's rulings, voted to retain subpenaed teachers on their staffs. With the Democrats hoping to break the GOP majority in Harrisburg this fall, the Republicans may find the Un-AAC's and the Board of Education's action no help to them.

★

DON'T MISS THE GUARDIAN's FORUM on "China and Indo-China—Peace or War?" April 23, at Adelphi Hall (Room 9B), 74 Fifth Av, 8:30 p.m.

A ROUNDUP OF NEGRO AFFAIRS

J'mcrow in U. S.-aided housing flagrantly ignored by officials

By Eugene Gordon

WASHINGTON has made progress in ridding itself of some of the more blatant anti-Negro attitudes, but "many ludicrous contradictions" still exist there, says exec. secy. Walter White of the Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, in housing, public schools, employment, hospitals, and the Protestant churches. Although police brutality there has lessened somewhat, "it is still a serious problem," he says.

HOUSING JIMCROW: NAACP's Washington bureau director Clarence Mitchell on March 24 proposed this amendment to the Natl. Housing Act:

> "The aids and powers made available under the several titles of this Act are not to be conditioned or limited in any way on account of race, religion or national origin of builders, lenders, renters, buyers, or families to be benefitted."

Mitchell said the amendment is necessary because many housing officials now refuse to exercise their authority to prevent discrimination. He cited jimcrow in federally-aided housing in

Savannah, Baltimore, and Washington and added:

"The most colossal FHA discriminatory policies may be found at Levittown, Pa., where thousands of new dwellings are built in an entirely new community with FHA assistance. Mr. Levitt refuses to let any colored person buy or rent. . . ."

"GHETTOES": The NAACP on March 18 wired New York's mayor, controller, and five borough presidents that

> ". . . persistent reports indicate the public housing program in this city is being curtailed by pressure of prejudiced residents who want to keep certain minority group families out of particular neighborhoods."

The message was prompted by State Housing Commissioner Stichman's statement, that

> ". . . the present city administration seems inclined to follow a course of confining low-income public housing projects only to certain areas, thus creating ghettoes based on color and income."

Stichman was referring to failure of the city's Board of Estimate, on March 11, to approve plans for a Brooklyn and a Bronx project on sites which have few or no Negroes. A city project, compelled by law to admit Negroes, would bring them into areas which formerly excluded them.

"MIGRATORY" CHILDREN: A Pennsylvania law specifying regular school attendance for children of migratory farm workers is being "universally violated if, indeed, it has ever been enforced," according to NAACP labor relations asst. Herbert Hill. A letter to Pennsylvania's Gov. Fine pointed out that, although the state Migratory Child Labor Act forbids hiring a nonresident child under 16 for farm work without a certificate showing school attendance in his state, the law is being ignored by officials.

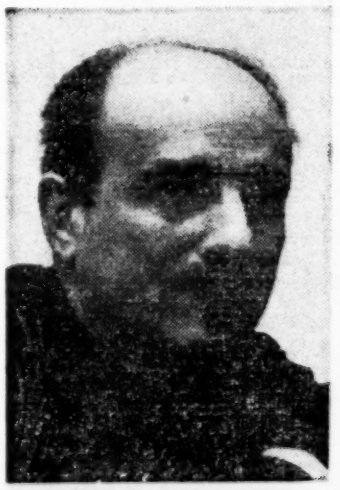
"FREEDOM BY '63": The NAACP has a total of 1,281 units throughout the U. S., including "authorized committees" and "branches." The first is a group of more than seven but too small to be chartered as a branch (minimum of 50). As a result of increased activity in the Fight for Freedom campaign, the NAACP since Jan. 1 has chartered 31 new units. The campaign aims to achieve full equality for the more than 15 million U. S. Negroes by Jan. 1, 1963, centennial of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation.

"SMEAR ARTIST": S. Carolina's Gov. Byrnes in a St. Patrick's Day speech asserted the NAACP and the Ku Klux Klan "equally menace" Negro-white relations in his state. Walter White charged the governor with "McCarthyism at its worst," said that as a "smear artist Gov. Byrnes antedates Sen. McCarthy by many years." He went on:

"He [Byrnes] pretends now to be a 'friend' of the Negro, but we remember when he defended lynching on the floor of the Senate and the House as he now defends segregation. We remember his fight to deny funds to Howard University for the education of Negro youth. We remember his attacks upon the real friends of the Negro and his attempts to smear them because of their efforts against lynching and race bigotry."

If the NAACP were a subversive organization like the KKK, White said, Byrnes "would have driven us out of S. Carolina long ago."

Philadelphia trial on



WALTER LOWENFELS

One of the nine Smith Act defendants who went on trial in Philadelphia last week was the American poet, winner of the Richard Aldington Award, whose work is highly regarded in many countries. He faces a possible five-year jail term for "conspiracy to advocate violence." Last month's Inter-American Conference at Caracas received from 75 Mexican artists and intellectuals (including Miguel Covarrubias, Diego Rivera, D. Alfaro Siqueiros) a protest against the "acts of aggression" on Lowenfels and other U. S. journalists, artists and intellectuals. "It is utterly ridiculous," they wrote, "to speak of defending liberty and the rights of man, when whole governments are so brutally and shamelessly attack the very principles they claim to defend."

BOOKS

A doctor diagnoses Washington's fatal illness

By Cedric Belfrage

HERSHEL D. MEYER of New York is a physician and a Marxist vigorously championing America's Communists. His hobby is collecting data on the insanities of his country and time and arranging them in books to show their insanity. His first, **Must We Perish? The Logic of 20th Century Barbarism** (New Century, N.Y., 1949), frankly concluded that capitalism is a dead duck and called for a socialist America. The implications of his latest* are the same although he ends by suggesting capitalism might settle down peacefully with socialism.

He does not contend that it could long continue to be both peaceful and capitalistic, but his deeply earnest concern is to prevent war by appealing to reason on any level where it can be reached.

DIAGNOSIS: Highlight of the new book is the doctor's diagnosis of the "manic-depressive and paranoid tendencies" of present or past ruling classes in their "desperate pursuit of aims which can no longer be realized historically." He cites the pitiful delusions of a Gen. Marshall about the U.S.S.R.'s capacity to make atom-bombs, of politicians and journalists about the nature of popular movements against imperialism; the devastating combination of arrogance and ignorance shown by a Tom Dewey, or by witch-hunter Jackson (R-Cal.) in his immortal passage: "Two Russian emigres, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, sat down together in a Paris attic to draft a blueprint for world domination . . . the Communist Manifesto."

PATIENT IS GRATEFUL: The condition he diagnoses is one whose danger he does not minimize, but in his final plea for a rallying of "peace forces" he leaves unanswered the question of just how those who should comprise them are to be rallied. One might suggest that a Marxist of his sound—if not notably creative—gifts would do better to continue charting the socialist alternative for America (a job almost no one is doing) than compiling psychopathological data. In trying to cover in one book the decline of world capitalism and imperialism, the history of the Korean War, the causes and social, political and cultural manifestations of burgeoning U.S. fascism, the cracking of the Western alliance, Soviet diplomacy for peace and the Pentagon designs for a new war, he is putting a strain on the average reader's digestion. The strain would be less if Dr. Meyer had done more careful translating from Marxist terminology, and if his proofreader had better powers of concentration.

The problem of how to reach beyond Marxist circles with the overwhelming documentation he brings to his thesis—of writing an American book that will touch a chord of response in other intelligent Americans—is one that Dr. Meyer is still trying to solve. But in assembling the myriad pieces of the design for national and moral disaster, he has done a service for which many will want to thank him. In these times we have reason for gratitude to a physician who has something more than a Park Avenue dowager on his office couch.

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ACADEMIC FREEDOM WEEK

Students vote against probes of "reds," but some balk at Declaration of Independence

CONGRESSIONAL probe committees are harming education, according to 60% of students polled at N.Y.'s City College in connection with the school's annual Academic Freedom Week April 8-14. The student newspaper **The Campus** asked students if they would be willing to sign a petition containing the words (from the Declaration of Independence): "Whenever any form of government becomes destructive of the welfare of the people, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish

it and to institute new government." Of 737 questioned (11% of the student body), 56% said yes, 18% no, 25.5% undecided.

The poll showed that 70% of the undergraduates thought students were not afraid to speak out in the classroom.

TEACHER'S POLITICS: While 51.6% voted no and 36.5% yes on the question "Should Communists be permitted to teach in colleges?" an editorial by **The Campus** staff said:

". . . All competent teachers should be allowed to teach . . . no matter what their political affiliations. We do not believe that membership in the Communist Party, ipso facto, should disqualify a teacher. It has been stated that the CP is a conspiratorial organization, but we do not believe that every member in the party is a conspirator unless that can be proven on the basis of each individual. . . . Faculty members must be responsible only to themselves. No other group can determine their competence. . . .

"The Feinberg Law and the application of Section 903 of the N.Y.C. Charter, which requires faculty members to answer questions of investigating committees, [have] turned searchers of truth into timid suspects who may be forced to evade and deceive to preserve their professional status."

OBJECTIVE: Also celebrating Academic Freedom Week, the N.Y. State Board of Regents Committee on Intl. Understanding gave its recipe for teachers' freedom:

"The teacher should be free to set forth with objectivity and accurate documentation the loss of spiritual freedom, the terrorism and ruthless domination exercised over the populations of those captive countries where dictatorship prevails."

The Board of Higher Education joined the festivities by suspending three associate professors from Hunter College, first victims of a special witch-hunt started last June.

20 YEARS OF REASON

Peress speaks at FDR rally

DR. IRVING PERESS, one of Sen. McCarthy's targets, will speak on "Twenty Years of Reason" at a Roosevelt Memorial Meeting at Manhattan Towers, B'way and 76th St., 8:30 p.m. Wed., Apr. 21.

Other speakers at the meeting, sponsored by the 20th CD American Labor Party, will be ALP N.Y. County chairman Peter K. Hawley and Thelma Dale of the Progressive Party. Earl Robinson will sing.

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NEW YORK

Family at fireside

Watching their home go up in flames, Engracia Hernandez, 70, with her grandsons, Paul, 2, and Pedro, 6, huddle in the street in the early hours of the morning, routed by a fire in their tenement at 22 E. 2d St. While slum owners wink at violations slum dwellers live in tinder-boxes.

THROUGH THE CITY'S POLITICAL SEWER — VI

Crime bosses rig the political 'game' the people's reply: change the rules

By Elmer Bendiner
(Last of a series)

THE LATE William Moretti was the nearest thing to a philosopher that the partnership of big crime and machine politics ever produced.

Though rarely indicted, he was at various times charged with assault and robbery and once for murder. Shortly before he was shot by four associates in Joe's Restaurant, Cliffside Park, N.J., he discussed life, business and politics with the Kefauver Committee.

"BI-PARTISAN": Counsel Halley asked: "Do you belong to any political clubs?"

Moretti: "I don't belong to any. I am a bi-partisan."

Halley: "In other words, you know politicians in both parties; is that right?"

Moretti: "That is right."

Halley: "Do you make that a part of your business to do that?"

Moretti: "Part of my character, not business."

Sen. Kefauver (D-Tenn.) took over the questioning: "Well, Mr. Moretti, tell us how you operate politically."

Moretti: "I don't operate politically. If I was, I would be a Congressman here, maybe sitting where you are."

Kefauver: "If you are a good operator, you might some day."

WHAT IS A RACKET? Up until his sudden end Moretti was, in fact, a good operator in both political machines. He was also a businessman with his own ideas of where the racket ended and big business began. Asked by the committee to define a racket, Moretti said: "Jeez, everything is a racket today." Of what makes a mobster he said: "People are mobs that make 6% more on the dollar than anybody else." Halley asked:

"You mean these people are called a mob because they make more money?"

Moretti: "That is right. What would you call them, anything else? . . ."

Halley: "Well, then, the men of the mob are the people who know how to gamble; is that what you say?"

Moretti: "Well, what makes lawyers different than others? One is smarter than the other; is that right?"

Halley: "Of course, they are outside the law in their activities. That may be one reason why they make more money; is that right?"

Moretti: "Probably it is one of the reasons, I don't know."

"ALL GOOD PEOPLE": The flexible lines of the law were almost irrelevant in Moretti's thinking. He, Adonis, Costello, Lansky and Luciano were in their own eyes businessmen and politicians. Moretti had little use for reformers' preachments. When Sen. Kefauver tried to justify Moretti's career by pointing to evil companions, Moretti cut him short:

"I don't think I associate with the wrong kind of people, Senator. I know all kinds of people. . . In my estimation I think they were all good people. . . . I think bad people should be behind bars. They are not behind bars yet."

Moretti summed up more than the mobster's philosophy. Business and machine politics have long been run on the the-

(Continued on Page 11)

THE BEDFORD-STUYVESANT STORY

A great Negro community fights for its health

By Ione Kramer

"WHEREVER a Negro moves in Brooklyn—that's Bedford-Stuyvesant," said a resident of that area. Strictly speaking, Bedford-Stuyvesant, one of the nation's most famous Negro communities, stretches out on both sides of its main arteries, Bedford Av. and Fulton St. Disease and death strike here more frequently than anywhere else in the borough. This is the story of Bedford-Stuyvesant's fight for health.

THE SLUMS: Along the neat, quiet, tree-lined avenues of brownstones (now rapidly being converted into overcrowded rooming-houses) small signs, courtesy of the block associations, ask: "Please help keep your street clean."

In the side-streets, though, are some of the city's worst slums. There 90% of all dwellings were built before 1920; 1/5 are dilapidated or lack a private bath. In one ramshackle frame house on Bedford Av. seven people died in June, 1952, in one of N.Y.'s worst fires. Two-thirds of Bedford-Stuyvesant's 300,000 residents are Negro. Roughly 60% of the population work as operatives, household and service workers, or laborers. In 1949 the median income for all workers there was $2,675, considerably less for Negro workers. More families there have incomes under $1,000 than in any other neighborhood in the city.

SICKNESS & DEATH: Overcrowded and dilapidated housing, high unemployment, low family income, lack of readily

(Continued on Page 10)

NEW YORK CALENDAR

GUARDIAN FORUM
China and Indo-China
Peace or War?
Hear **TABITHA PETRAN, CEDRIC BELFRAGE, KUMAR GOSHAL** and **CHUNGSOON KWAK**
on eve of Geneva Conference
Questions — Discussion
FRIDAY, APRIL 23—8:30 P.M.
Adelphi Hall, 74 5th Av. (13 St.)
Admission: $1, incl. tax.

CONTEMPORARY FORUM
Announces Two New Courses
PHILOSOPHIES of the GOOD LIFE
Six Lectures and Discussions
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April 26
"The Ethics of Disaster: Stoics, Epicureans, Cynics and Skeptics"
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and New Threats to Civil Liberties
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FRIDAY, APRIL 16—6:30-9 P.M.
SATURDAY, APRIL 17—1-5 P.M.
"Art For The People's Sake"
Come and give your opinion. Social Paintings by R. Pasanella. Teachers Center Gallery, 206 W. 15th St.

WORLD FELLOWSHIP OF FAITHS Dr. Willard Uphaus, exec. dir. Discussion on "The Challenge of Asia and Africa." Fri., Apr. 23, 8:15 p.m., Caravan Hall, 110 E. 59th St. Chairman: **Mrs. Manorama R. Modak**, educator and writer on India. Speakers: **Miss Ida Pruitt**, born in China and for years missionary there; **Mr. Fo Onepedi**, of Nigeria, presently studying at Columbia University. All are welcome!

HEAR ROBERT GWATHMEY, world famous artist, speak on **"Art Is For The People."** Film, discussion. Thurs., April 22, 8:30 p.m. Village ALP, 28 Greenwich Av. Admission: Free.

LEONARD BOUDIN
noted constitutional and labor attorney speaks on **"Lawful and Unlawful Activities of Congressional Committees."** Sun., April 25, 8:15 p.m., at 15 Washington Pl., Apt. 5N. Auspices: Greenwich Village Chapter, N. Y. Jewish Congress. Admission Free.

MR. CHARLES WHITE,
world famous graphic artist and painter of the Negro people, will discuss his approach to art at 5th in a series of EVENINGS OF ART CRITICISM. Audience invited to bring original works for criticism, participate in discussion. Fri., April 23, 8:30 p.m., Art Div., ASP, 35 W. 64th St. Contribution: 50c.

SATURDAY, APRIL 17—8 P.M. to ? Open House. ASP International Bazaar. Social, refreshments. No admission charge. 35 W. 64th St. SU 7-4677.

SUNDAY, APRIL 18 — 8:30 SHARP. "Art for Art's Sake: Shaw, Joyce, Eliot, Huxley." Dr. Annette Rubinstein in one of her stimulating talks on literature at ASP, 35 W. 64th St. Contribution: $1.

LECTURE: "Struggle for Independence of Puerto Rico." Guest speaker: Bruce Reynold. Fri., April 23, 8 p.m., Militant Hall, 116 University Pl. (nr. Union Sq.) Cont. 25c. Auspiecs: Socialist Workers Party.

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A Negro community fights for its health

(Continued from Page 9)

accessible low-cost medical care have given Bedford-Stuyvesant one of the city's highest illness and death rates. A recent report by the semi-official N.Y. City Hospital Council—again stressing the higher rate for Negroes than for whites—showed these figures:

Per 1,000	All B'klyn	Bed.-Stuy.
Infant deaths	24.1	36.8
Neo-natal deaths	18.8	28.7
Maternal deaths	8.1	11.7

Five years ago the community's Negro and white residents started a campaign for a $12 million, 750-bed city hospital in the area. The campaign took on new vigor in late 1950 and early 1951 when several babies and children died after being refused treatment at private hospitals, or received treatment too late at the shockingly overcrowded Kings Co. Hospital outside the area.

THE CAMPAIGN: Local ministers, reminded daily of the inadequate care and frequent discrimination met by their parishioners in outlying hospitals, were active campaigners. Under leadership of the Bedford-Stuyvesant Health Congress, neighbors held block parties and benefits, collected nearly 100,000 signatures on petitions, made nearly 100 delegations to city officials, tried to talk to three N.Y. mayors.

Two years ago the Health Congress succeeded in getting a $1,460,000 appropriation in the city's Capital Budget for purchase of a hospital site (chosen by the engineers between Ralph, Monroe, Fulton and Marion Sts.) Under pressure the site appropriation has been continued in the two subsequent budgets, but the site purchase and building of the hospital seem lost in red tape.

HEALTH WITHOUT DISCRIMINATION
The Bedford-Stuyvesant Health Congress arranged this picture to show the kind of care they're fighting for in their neighborhood.

THE NEED: Last December, the Hospital Council's report dimmed hopes by recommending that no hospital be built in the area. The report recognized that at a ratio of 4.1 general-care beds for every 1,000 population, "there should be 1,005 such beds for the residents of Bedford-Stuyvesant, of which 760 under ordinary circumstances might be expected to be in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area." But the Council suggested the site appropriation be used to add 125 beds to Cumberland City Hospital outside the area. (Buses might be rerouted more conveniently, the Council proposed.) Former Hospitals Commr. Dr. Marcus D. Kogel said Cumberland has only 10 more years of life.

Using the Council's own figures, the Health Congress pointed out why Bedford would settle for nothing less than a new hospital. The Congress cited the extreme overcrowding of Brooklyn's three city hospitals where Bedfordites may now apply for treatment. Occupancy rates: Cumberland, 97%; Greenpoint, 90% (first 6 months of 1953); Kings County, over 100% in 21 out of 24 months in 1951-2, with 99% the rest of the time, and patients bedded in the hallways. With nearly 35% of the city's population, Brooklyn has only 28.4% of the general-care beds.

SEARCHING FOR BEDS: Voluntary or private hospitals in the area (St. Johns, Jewish, St. Mary's), which reserve a number of beds for neighborhood service, cannot solve the problem: their funds come primarily from outside the community and "their responsibility to the community is secondary." The Congress charged that "most patients from Bedford-Stuyvesant are sent from the voluntary hospitals' admitting rooms to the municipal hospitals. . . . Oftentimes it has been an admitting clerk or an interne who is free to express his personal prejudice by refusing admission to Negro patients, or by treating them with callous indifference."

Dr. A. E. King, Cumberland staffer, who for the past five years has practiced in Bedford-Stuyvesant, told the GUARDIAN that travel to Kings Co. or Cumberland Hospitals is difficult or costly for ailing, elderly people, and for pregnant women and mothers with small children. "If you go to the Kings County obstetric clinic, you may as well take your lunch, because you may have a one-to-five-hour wait," Dr. King said. Since the Health Congress started its campaign the city has opened two new well-baby centers, but they take infants only up to two years, offer no pre-natal care.

WANTED—A PROD: A community hospital would encourage people to seek earlier treatment—particularly in cancer, heart, and children's diseases—at stages when they might be helped, the doctor said. Earlier and more regular pre-natal care could detect in time the causes of maternal deaths (in 1950, Bedford's maternity death rate was 18.2% for Negroes; no white maternity case ended fatally.) Because of inaccessible and crowded out-patient departments, many mothers do not begin pre-natal check-ups until the fifth month or later.

Last month, after five years' trying, representatives of the Health Congress (7 New York Av., B'klyn 16) led by chairman Deighton Osborne, finally got in to see a N.Y. mayor. They urged Mayor Robert F. Wagner, who before he was elected last fall had said he favored the hospital, to take "emergency" action. Congress spokesmen say the site can be purchased and the project begun with only a word from budget director Abraham Beame, or a prod from Wagner.

Said the Mayor: "I'll talk to Beame."

Guardian Forum to hear Kwak

CHUNGSOON KWAK, wartime head of U.S. Armed Forces Information & Education Division, Korean unit, will appear with the GUARDIAN's Tabitha Petran, Kumar Goshal and Cedric Belfrage as guest panelist on the April 23 forum on issues involved in the Geneva conference. Both distinguished musicians (he is also a Columbia U. political science graduate), Chungsoon and his wife Choon Cha Kwak have fought the Japanese, consistently opposed Syngman Rhee; they are now fighting deportation to S. Korea, where Atty. Gen. Brownell says there is no evidence they would be "physically persecuted." Chungsoon Kwak replaces Julian Schuman, unable to appear through unavoidable circumstances.

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May 1 rally in Union Sq.

THE PARK DEPT. last week informed the Provisional Committee for the 69th Anniversary of May Day that it could have Union Square for the traditional labor celebration late in the afternoon of May 1. Earlier the city administration had banned any parade.

Political sewer

(Continued from Page 9)

ory that every man is honest until he's caught.

POLITE BUSINESS: Moretti thrived in business. In 1936 three companions newly out of jail for playing the numbers, asked him to join them in the U. S. Linen Supply Co. Moretti said he went out and got "plenty of business in a polite way too." His competitors, who

WILLIE MORETTI
Bi-partisan to the end

complained of Moretti's "politeness," soon found it advisable to merge with him.

Others of Moretti's kind of "good people" went into more basic industry. Longie Zwillman, who got his start as a bootlegger, owned a truck sales company with a General Motors franchise, became the largest stockholder in the A. M. Byers Co., Pittsburgh, Pa., steel works and the E. & S. Trading Co. of Newark, dealers in steel and iron. (Adonis' connection with Ford was noted in the GUARDIAN, 4/12.) Zwillman, Costello and others entered the liquor industry as distributors for the country's top brands. Phelps-Dodge Co. in 1946 employed Anthony (Tough Tony) and Albert (of Murder Inc.) Anastasia to import strike-breakers.

ACCENT ON LABOR: Yet not since LaFollette Committee investigation in 1939-41 has there been a thorough probe of the ties between big crime and big business. On the other hand, infiltration of criminals into the labor movement has been headlined across the nation.

What those who would clean labor's house fail to note is that the labor racketeer serves not labor but management—and it is management that makes labor racketeering pay. In most cases racketeers seize power by strong-arm coups, ballot-box stuffing, an occasional murder. Then they offer their services to the employer to keep the union from striking or demanding too much.

For years "King" Joe Ryan was maintained as pres. of the Intl. Longshoremen's Assn. by the bribery and connivance of shipowners and machine politicians. Except for the last one, almost every waterfront strike has been waged against the union leadership as well as the shipowners.

When N.Y. Sen. Arthur H. Wicks, then acting Lt. Gov., explained his visits to convicted extortionist Joseph Fay in Sing Sing, he said it was to win his "influence" in heading off "labor trouble."

IT'S THE REDS: The career of Tommy Lewis, pres. of Local 32-E of the AFL Building Service Employes, is typical—though few labor racketeers end as he did: murdered. When he came to the labor movement in 1940 Lewis had been arrested for assault, vehicular homicide and rape. (Like most other successful leaders in his field he had never been convicted.) Pres. Sam Abrams of 32-E had just been thrown into prison for stealing union funds. George Scalise, a celebrated racketeer and intl. pres. at the time, filled the local's exec. board with reliable machine men and named Lewis business agent.

The membership was restive and Lewis won his spurs by a prompt expulsion of 26 members as "communists." (Racketeers have always found that anti-communism pays off. For example, the ILA's Ryan used his anti-communist fund to pay for a trip to Guatemala and several other luxuries.)

EMBARRASSING DEATH: Lewis rose to such power at Yonkers Raceway that he could command tribute for keeping the peace. He also tangled with rivals such as Joseph Pizzo, who managed the opening phases of ex-Mayor Impellitteri's campaign in the Bronx last fall. The rivalry ended abruptly when Lewis was shot last summer. His dying in the middle of a political campaign was perhaps the only thing Lewis ever did to embarrass the machines.

Investigations of his murder unfolded the partnership of racketeers and politicians in big-money gambling.

FRUSTRATION: Racketeers have played labor for money;

JOE RYAN
In the accustomed style

the political machines have played labor for money and votes. Ever since the big unions in the state broke away from the American Labor Party, their leadership has been fair game for backroom deals that have netted the membership nothing and often left the labor leaders high and dry.

THE GAME & THE JOB: The game, played by the politicians' rules, is rigged. In this series the GUARDIAN has cited enough of those rules to warn players they can't win until they change the rules.

Only the people can change them. It has been shown that the machine as it stands is not geared to respond to rank-and-file popular pressures from within. When it has yielded, it has been to surging popular pressure from outside. To build that pressure is the job of progressive politics, not to be confused with the "game of politics"; as parties are not to be confused with machines; as the sewer is not to be taken for the broad highway.

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Events for Children

Films

AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATL. HISTORY, Central Park W. at 79th St. SPECIAL EASTER WEEK PROGRAM: daily 2 p.m. except Wed., April 21, 4 p.m. Mon., Apr. 19, **The Adventures of Chico;** Tues., Apr. 20, **American Cowboy & The Cowboy;** Wed., Apr. 21, **Benjamin Franklin & Snakes;** Thurs., Apr. 22, **Land of the Long Day;** Fri., Apr. 23, **Canyon Country & Yellowstone;** Sat., Apr. 24, **Desert Life.** Free.

B'KLYN MUSEUM, Eastern Parkway & Wash. Av. Films on subjects related to the Museum collections and exhibits. Suns., 3:30 p.m., in the Lecture Hall. Apr. 11 **Jefferson, the Architect;** Apr. 18, **Jordan Valley.** Free.

B'KLYN CHILDREN'S MUSEUM, B'klyn Av. & Prospect Pl. Daily thru Easter Week: 11 a.m., Tues., Apr. 20, **Adventures of Bunny Rabbit & Australia;** 2 p.m., **Pueblo Heritage;** 4 p.m., **Autumn on Farm & Earth and Its Seasons;** Wed., Apr. 21, 11 a.m., **Making Electricity & Flatboatmen of the Frontier;** 2 p.m., **Mary Had a Little Lamb & Hare and Tortoise;** 4 p.m., **Mexican Children & People of China;** Thurs., Apr. 22, 11 a.m., **Portage;** 2 p.m., **Princess and Dragon & The Beaver;** 4 p.m., **Eskimo Arts and Crafts & Getting Together;** Fri., Apr. 23, 11 a.m., **Loon's Necklace & Curious Coat,** 2 p.m., **Newspaper Story & Shep, The Farm Dog;** 4 p.m., **Work of Running Water & Underwater Adventure;** Sat., Apr. 24, 11 a.m., **Honest Woodsman & Rumplestiltskin;** 2 p.m., **Norwegian Children & New England Fisherman;** 4 p.m., **Boats & Airport.** Free.

MUSEUM OF CITY OF N. Y., 5th Av. & 103d St. 11 a.m. & 3 p.m., Sat., Apr. 24, **Caravans of Trade & Up and Down New York.** Free.

Dance & Music

WATER FANTASY, presented by the B'klyn Museum Dance Theater for Children. 3 p.m., Wed., Apr. 21. Order tickets in advance. 50c.

Plays

FREDDIE AND HIS FIDDLE, an original fairy tale with an adult cast. Presented by the "Y" Playhouse. Kaufman Auditorium, YM-YWHA, Lex. Av. & 92d St. Sun., Apr. 11, 1:30 & 3:30 p.m.; 11 a.m. & 2:40 p.m., Apr. 20-23, 41-42. Reserv: Educational Dept., YM-YWHA. TR 6-2221. Half price for groups of 20 or more.

THE COBBLER OF FAIRYLAND (Musical), presented by Junior Theater for young people. Carnegie Recital Hall, 154 W. 57th St. Easter Week: 2:15 p.m. Mon. thru Fri., Apr. 19 thru 23d. $1.20, $1.80, $2.40. Less 20% for subscriptions for four shows or groups of 10 or more. CI 6-0224.

Miscellaneous

CHILDREN'S ZOO in Bronx Park now open. Admission for children 20c, adults 15c. Adults are not admitted unless accompanied by a child.

WONDERLAND FARM ZOO, So. Ozone Park, L. I. Children may visit and pet the animals.

EXHIBITIONS: B'klyn Children's Museum, B'klyn Av. & Prospect Pl. Free. **B'klyn, Gateway to Long Island,** exhibition of prints record early views of B'klyn & Long Island from 1800 to the 1920's. **Design in Scandinavia,** decorative art and industrial design from Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden.

BROOKLYN LIBRARY BRANCHES: Mother Pre-School Groups; Films & talks. Free. **So. Amer. Program —Wheels Across the Andes** (film), 1:30 p.m., Tues., Apr. 20, Arlington, 203 Arlington Av.; **Preface to a Life** (film), 2 p.m., Apr. 21, Eastern Parkway Br., E. Parkway & Schenectady Av.; **Children's Books** (talk), 11 a.m., Apr. 21, Kings Bay Br., 3507 Nostrand Av.

TRIBUTE TO THE NATIONAL CINEMA IN LATIN AMERICA
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China & Indo-China: Peace or War?
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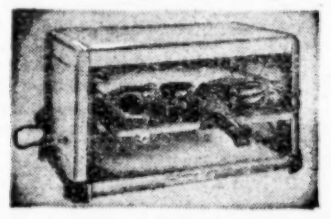

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the SPECTATOR

Ike to Joe to Herb: The new technique

THREE RECENT TV ADDRESSES point up the new look in public speaking. Messrs. Eisenhower, McCarthy and Brownell (listed in order of their appearance) have demonstrated with varying degrees of slickness that Fourth of July flag- and arm-waving are outmoded.

When the loudest sound in the air was firecrackers, bombastic orators who Pointed to Our Past with Pride were an innocent prelude to ice cream and band music. In the H-bomb era, however, the public speaker has adopted the smiling, sinister calm of a prosperous mortician. The alarm of the people is to be allayed by intimate assurance, and our anger softened by a homey pat on the head. We are instructed to be calm, and to spy on our neighbors only when necessary. Otherwise we are to go about our business as usual and leave the country to the FBI and God — in order of their appearance.

Wall Street Journal

"They all convince Fred. He changes brands with each program."

President Eisenhower, given the Robert Montgomery treatment, appeared not behind his desk but in front of it. Playing the off-the-record executive, he talked smoothly to his fellow-Rotarians. Anxiously looking past the camera to what the TV industry calls "idiot cards" (cards with large-letter cues), he kept track of his main points. He emphasized "spiritual values" while double-talking about such national realities as unemployment, tax favoritism, inadequate housing and declining business. Like the caterpillar in **Alice in Wonderland,** he sat on top of a mushroom cloud, smoking a hookah, urging the American people to hush their fears of the H-bomb by reciting, "You are red, Father William."

McCARTHY'S TECHNIQUE in answering Murrow was to compel the listener to lean forward and become involved in the proceedings before one realized that "Murrow" was merely a cue for a horrendous new scare. Joe played the self-effacing role to the hilt, sighing occasionally like a weary martyr, but always cozy and close to you.

Brownell talked like a revenue officer who calls at your home, stays to dinner, and confidentially tips you off how to cheat the government—in a strictly legal way, of course.

The homey manner is the great disarmer. The between-you-and-me lie obscures the terrible truth. Brownell is only relating funny anecdotes when he tells of wire-tapping and mass arrests. And when he proposes ways of smashing unions and of stripping the Constitution until it bleeds to death, take his word: he knows a lot more about things than he can tell you right now. Go to sleep trusting him, neighbor. And wake up in Indo-China or Valhalla.

THESE SLY BARRAGES aimed at lulling or frightening or paralyzing the public should be labeled for what they are. Webster's definition of a "speaker" is "(a) One who makes a public address; (b) One who is the mouthpiece of others." This seems pertinent enough.

Pursuing Webster, there is "eloquence" which is defined as "lofty, noble . . . fusion of thought or feeling with verbal expression." That's out.

How about "discourse"? This is characterized as "formal or orderly communication of thought in speech or writing." Nope.

While we are in the d's, let's look into "demagogue." Webster says this is a "speaker who seeks to make capital of social discontent and gain political influence."

We propose to the Federal Communications Commission that all future addresses by the above-mentioned politicos shall be so designated. But not limited to them, of course. Still poking around the d's, there's still Dulles. And while this Administration is in power, there'll always be a Dulles.

George Marion on Guardian tour

GEORGE MARION, author of **Bases and Empire, The Communist Trial, All Quiet in the Kremlin,** and **Stop the Press,** is leaving New York next month on a nationwide lecture tour under auspices of the GUARDIAN.

The schedule thus far. May 16-22, Cleveland-Toledo; 23-31, Detroit, Flint, Grand Rapids. The month of June is available for the Chicago area; July for Minnesota and points west.

You may be able to book Mr. Marion for your own community—meeting, house-party, picnic. Write **now** to Leona Saron, 17 Murray St., New York 7, N.Y.

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